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VOL. XXII, No. 19

MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1929

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THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY TWENTY-FOUR RECENT ADDITIONS

The Loeb Classical Library was discussed last in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY in 21. 1-3, 9-11, 17-19, 25-27. It is time to call attention again to the Library. For convenience I shall consider the Greek volumes together, then the Latin volumes.

(1, 2) *Athenaeus, The Deipnosophists*. By Charles Burton Gulick, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature, Harvard University (1927, 1928). Pp. xxii + 484, viii + 533.

The title-page of Volume I of Professor Gulick's translation of *Athenaeus* states that the work is to be in six volumes, that of Volume II states that it is to be in seven volumes. The Introduction to Volume I (vii-xxii) deals first with *The Deipnosophists* and its Author (vii-xviii). Then follow a Selected Bibliography, Editions, Translations, Monographs (xix-xx), a list of Abbreviations (xxi), and a list of the Persons of the Dialogue (xxii).

Of *Athenaeus*'s work Professor Gulick writes as follows (i.ix-x):

It would be hard to find a Greek work more diffuse in style or more heterogeneous in subject than *The Sophists at Dinner*. Professor Gildersleeve's witty rendering of the title as *The Gastronomers* sufficiently hints at the windy discourses of the worthies here introduced. The reader learns perhaps all there was to learn about cooks—Greek, Persian, Sicilian, Roman, and others; about curious dishes (though recipes are rarely given), elaborate and costly banquets, with the dances and other entertainments which are the "ornaments of the feast"; about music and musical instruments, furniture of the dining-room, menu-cards (not mentioned in any English cookery-book before the eighteenth century), wines, choice and otherwise, medical regimen, cultivated fruits home-grown and exotic, gluttony and abstention, luxury and frugality, wit and pedantry, and a thousand other matters presented in bewildering disarray. Only politics is touched on lightly, generally by way of historical reminiscence, although the ethnological and consequently political implications of food and other things are sometimes recognized.... The *Pax Romana* still prevailed, and *Athenaeus*'s friends were conformists in political matters.

On page xv Professor Gulick declares that

"...*Athenaeus* has contrived to pile up a work the loss of which would have wrought incalculable harm to our knowledge of Greek literature. In some respects it is the most important work of later antiquity. Without it we should have missed entire chapters of Hellenistic life and history. Without it, too, our knowledge of the Middle and New Comedy would have been limited to the baldest notices scattered throughout scholia and lexicographers—a poor substitute for the lengthy and diverse quotations which now, with *Athenaeus*'s help, enrich the volumes of Meinecke and Kock....

On pages xvi-xvii one finds a hint, all too brief, of the rich array of cookery-books written in modern times not only by women but also by men.

It is good to have from such a competent hand as Professor Gulick's a translation of so important a work. Volume I contains the rendering of Books 1-3, Volume II that of Books 4-5. Each volume contains an Index of Proper Names (1.459-484, 2.507-533). I hope that an Index Rerum and an Index Locorum will ultimately form parts of the work.

(3) *Dio's Roman History, On the Basis of the Version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, IX*. By Earnest Cary (1927). Pp. 572.

Mr. Cary's final volume of his translation of *Dio Cassius* contains renderings of the *Epitomes* of Books 71-80, and of a fragment of Book 80. The General Index to the nine volumes occupies pages 491-572. This combines the separate Indexes to the individual volumes.

For other notices of this translation see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 7.102, 18.181, 19.177.

For the second time an American scholar has completed, for the Loeb Classical Library, a translation requiring many volumes. Professor B. Perrin, of Yale University, translated, in eleven volumes, all *Plutarch's Lives* (see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21.17); the last volume, however, was published after his death. Mr. Cary deserves the congratulations and the warm thanks of all students not only of Roman history but also of Roman literature (the latter, in studying such authors as Horace and Vergil, find themselves helpless without a knowledge of Roman history).

(4) *Epictetus, The Discourses as Reported by Arrian, The Manual, and Fragments, II*. By W. A. Oldfather, of the University of Illinois. Pp. 559 (1928).

The second and concluding volume of Professor Oldfather's translation of *Epictetus* contains a version of Books 3-4 of the *Discourses* (1-437), *Fragments* (439-477), *The Encheiridion or Manual* (479-537), and Index <to Volume II> (539-559). The Index covers names and subjects.

For a notice of the first volume of this translation see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21.9.

(5) *Isaeus*. By Edward Seymour Forster, of the University of Sheffield (1927). Pp. xvii + 487.

In the <General> Introduction (vii-xvii) Professor Forster presents *The Life and Writings of Isaeus* (vii-xi), *The Place of Isaeus Among the Attic Orators* (xi-xii), *The Athenian Laws of Inheritance* (xii-xiv), *The Text* (xiv-xvi), and a *Bibliography* (xvi-xvii). For each of the twelve speeches translated for the volume Professor Forster supplies a special Introduction and an Argument. On pages 445-457 he lists the lost speeches of Isaeus, forty-four in number, and tells us what is known or conjectured about them; in

each instance he cites the ancient authorities upon whose statements modern knowledge or modern inference rests. The fragments of Isaeus are translated (459-481). There is, finally, a brief Index (483-487).

(6) Isocrates, I. By George Norlin, President of the University of Colorado, Formerly Professor of Greek in the University of Colorado (1928). Pp. li + 411.

Dr. Norlin's initial volume is the first of three in which all that remains of Isocrates is to be presented in English. The General Introduction (ix-li) deals with the life and work of Isocrates (ix-xlvi), Bibliography, Manuscripts and Papyri (xlv-xlviii), Editions (xlviii-i), Translations (i-li), Subsidia (li). The long discussion of the life and work of Isocrates runs on, page after page, without subdivisions or sub-titles of any sort. The works of Isocrates are described here only briefly (xxx-xxxi); they are to be described in detail in the special Introductions to the several pieces. The discussion of the political discourses of Isocrates (xxxii-xliv) is interesting and suggestive. In treating the question of the practical influence of Isocrates on the course of events in his time Professor Norlin refuses to follow the fashion, set by Niebuhr, of "divorc[ing] him entirely from history and <of> dismiss[ing] him as a sort of dreamer in the desert..." Brief though the treatment here is, Professor Norlin has made out a strong case for his own view. That view, by the way, is in harmony with the view expressed in a quotation from *The Cambridge Ancient History* 6.vi which appears in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 22.139 (column 1, bottom, column 2, top).

The Orations translated in this volume bear the following titles: To Demonicus, To Nicocles, Nicocles or The Cyprians, Panegyricus, To Philip, Archidamus.

(7, 8) Josephus, II, III. By H. St. J. Thackeray (1927, 1928). Pp. xxxii + 729, v + 687.

The first volume of Mr. Thackeray's version of Josephus (the first of eight) was noticed in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 21.10. The second volume contains an Introduction (vii-xxxi), a translation of *The Jewish War*, Books 1-3 (1-729), an insert sheet presenting *The Herodian Family*, and, finally, three maps: Galilee and Surrounding District (50-70 A. D.), Central and Southern Palestine (50-70 A. D.), and Jerusalem (these maps appear also in Volume III).

The Introduction deals with *The History of the Jewish War* (vii-xxvii), the Greek Text and MSS. (xxvii-xxx), and miscellaneous matters (xxx-xxxii). There is no Bibliography.

In my notice of Volume I, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 21.10, I called attention to an article entitled *Three Ancient Autobiographies*, by Professor Charles J. Goodwin, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 17.130-135; one of the autobiographies discussed is that of Josephus (131-133). With respect to certain passages in the *Antiquities* which traverse ground already covered in *The Jewish War* Mr. Thackeray expresses the following opinion (2.xxvi):

...There are, as is natural, inconsistencies between the two accounts; but, generally speaking, it may be said that the author faithfully follows his written authorities.

Mr. Thackeray continues thus (xxvi):

It is otherwise with the passages in which the *War* overlaps with the *Life*. Here there are unaccountable discrepancies, and the autobiographical notices of the historian must be pronounced the least trustworthy portion of his works. The numerous inconsistencies, of a minor or a graver character, between the two accounts of his command in Galilee, to which attention is called in the footnotes to *B. ii.* 569-646, betray either gross carelessness or actual fraud....

In Volume III, 635-658, we find translations of *The Principal Additional Passages in the Slavonic Version*. An account of this version, called elsewhere by Mr. Thackeray the *Old Russian Version*, is given in 2.x-xi. At 3.659-660 one finds a list of omissions from the Slavonic Version, omissions from Books 1-4. In 3.661-687 there are Indexes to Volumes II and III: Index I. General (661-685), Index II. Biblical Passages Quoted in the Notes (686-687).

(To be continued)

CHARLES KNAPP

VERGIL, AENEID 7. 8-9¹

The masterly use which Vergil makes of his accurate observations of nature as material for poetry gives to a close study of the poet's references to nature a fascinating interest. The beauty of the language in which he clothes these observations and the long influence of his poems on the world bear out Woodrow Wilson in his statement with reference to the importance of style²:

Style is not much studied here; *ideas* are supposed to be everything—their vehicle comparatively nothing. But you and I know that there can be no greater mistake; that, both in its amount and in its length of life, an author's influence depends upon the power and the beauty of his style; upon the flawless perfection of the mirror he holds up to nature....

Taking the word 'nature' in its restricted sense, as applying to the objects and the phenomena of the physical universe, I have selected, as an example of "the flawless perfection of the mirror" which Vergil holds up to nature, two verses, Aeneid 7.8-9:

Aspirant aurae in noctem, nec candida cursus
luna negat, splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.

In these verses the poet calls attention to three natural phenomena, the breeze, the moon, and the sea. The first two he mentions as useful to the Trojans in their voyage, and then, in five lovely words, *splendet... pontus*, he flashes on the mind's eye the effect of the moon's brilliant beams on the wavelets of the sea, which the night breeze has ruffled.

Let me recall the setting of these lines by citing the first seven lines of Book 7³:

¹This paper was read at the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held at Princeton University, May 18-19, 1928.

²See Ray Stannard Baker, *The Life and Letters of Woodrow Wilson*, 1.184 (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., now Doubleday, Doran and Co. (1927)). Mr. Wilson, then (1883) a student at The Johns Hopkins University, was writing to Miss Ellen Axson.

³Throughout this paper the Oxford text of Vergil, edited by F. Hirtzel, is used in all quotations from the poet's works. It is assumed that the reader will have a complete text of Vergil at hand.

Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,
aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti;
et nunc servat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen
Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat.

At pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis,
aggere composito tumuli, postquam alta quierunt
aequora, tendit iter velis portumque relinquit.

Up to this point in Book 7 Vergil has kept his hero busy with the death of his nurse, Caieta, and with the ceremonies of her burial, incidents next in sequence to Aeneas's return from Hades and his coming to the harbor of Caieta (6.899-901). In allowing the reader to draw inferences and to supply details concerning the exact time of Aeneas's departure from Hades and Cumae, and of his arrival at Caieta, and the length of his stay there, Vergil is employing the poet's art, as well as giving poetical significance to another geographical name on the Italian coast. Verses 1-5 thus give us a fine example of what, as Professor Knapp⁴ says, "for want of a better name we call 'indirection'..."

In verses 6 and 7, *postquam alta quierunt aequora*, we have another example of "indirection". The Trojans are putting out from land for the last sail, a short and swift one, to the promised land, under a propitious moon. Aeneas had evidently been counting on the night breeze and the brilliant moon while he was duteously performing Caieta's funeral rites, for all preparations to sail are complete when *Aspirant aerae in noctem*. He puts out to sea without the aid of oars, for the breeze from the land which springs up after the sunset rises for the night.

Let us look at the phrase *in noctem*. Since it is possible and more than probable that this phrase means 'for the night', as it does in the only three other places where Vergil uses it, I translate it so in this passage. In Georgics 4.190, Vergil writes *in noctem*; in Aeneid 10.746 and 12.310 we have *in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem*.

In Georgics 4.153-218, Vergil gives a description of the characteristics, qualities, nature, and habits of bees. In 185-190 he speaks of their early rising for the routine of their daily industry and of the nightly rest which fits them for their tasks for the following day. The words *siletur in noctem*, 189-190, Conington⁵ translated by "there is silence for the night..." To the idea of continuance ('for the night', i. e. 'throughout the night'), the context adds the idea of continued recurrence. Thus *in noctem* here = 'for <every> night', as *mane* (185), which the phrase balances, means 'every morning, at daybreak'. One may mention here a few of the familiar examples of *in* with the accusative used to express continuance of time over short or long periods, e. g. *in praesens*, *in futurum*, *in posterum*, *in reliquum tempus*, *in perpetuum*, *in aeternum*, *in omne tempus*, *in tempus*. The following statement I take verbatim from Lewis and Short⁶:

⁴In § 254 of the Introduction to his edition (1928).

⁵John Conington, *The Poems of Virgil Translated into English Prose* (London and New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1893). <Unhappily, this book is out of print. As has been said several times in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, Conington's translation of the Aeneid is readily accessible in an edition of it, by Professor and Mrs. F. G. Allinson (Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Co., 1916). C. K.>

⁶Harpers' Latin Dictionary, s. v. *in*, II, B, page 913, column 1, lower half. See also Henry John Roby, *A Grammar of the Latin*

...in diem, *daily*; nos in diem vivimus, Cic. Tusc. 5, 11, 33: in diem et horam, Hor. S. 2, 6, 47; and in horas, *hourly*, id. C. 2, 13, 14; id. S. 2, 7, 10.

Munro⁷ interprets two expressions of Lucretius as analogous to *in diem*, *in horam* used with verbs of increase (or decrease), 6.712, *Nilus in aestatem crescit*... and 6.875, *umor... in lucem tremulo rarescit ab aestu*. Munro translates *in aestatem* and *in lucem* by "every summer", "every day".

Part of Servius's note on *in noctem*, Aeneid 7.8, a note wholly disregarded by Conington, Page —, Fairclough, and Papillon and Haigh, in their editions, is as follows: *Aspirant aerae in noctem*. Quia, ut diximus, temporum mutatione, ventus vel minuitur vel augetur. *In noctem* autem, circa noctem. Let us, for the present, pass over the words *Quia, ut diximus*, and notice *In noctem autem, circa noctem*. Fischer says⁸, "In regard to time, *circa* (not *circum*) is used (first by Livy) to designate a point of time at which an action happens, without vouching for exactness (= about): *Circa eandem horam* rex copias admovit... Liv. 42, 57..." The translation, then, of *in noctem*, according to Servius, is 'about night', and the whole sentence means 'The breeze rises about night'. All four editors who disregard Servius's note translate *in noctem* by 'on into the night'. Page writes: "*In noctem* 'on into the night', the breeze, not as usual falling at sunset, but continuing into the night". Conington comments thus (third edition, 1883): "A fair wind blows steadily into the night (i. e. it does not fall at sunset and [*sic*] correct to 'as') at other times, 3.568), and the moon rising bright enables them to hold on their course. At other times they put in for the night, 3.508 foll. ..." In his prose translation Conington gives "Nightward the breezes blow". This is a lovely expression, but it is not an accurate translation, if it is taken in connection with Conington's comment on Aeneid 7.8.

To my mind there is in the phrase *in noctem* no indication of the breeze "not as usual, falling at sunset, but continuing on into the night". Instead, there seems to be every indication from Aeneid 7.6, 8, 9 that the breeze did *as usual*, fall at sunset, but rose again, *as usual*, in the late twilight⁹. Its direction,

Language from Plautus to Suetonius, § 1967 (London, Macmillan, 1903); Gustav Fischer, *Latin Grammar Together with a Syntactic Treatment of Latin Composition*, § 431 (New York, J. W. Schermerhorn and Co., 1876).

⁷H. A. J. Munro, in his edition of Lucretius, on 6.712.

⁸Fischer, *Latin Grammar*, § 431, Rem. 24.

⁹*I feel bound to register here my complete dissent from this statement. In so far as Miss Campbell has produced any passages at all in which the idea of repetition can rightly be associated with the words *in noctem*, that idea of repetition is very clearly and plainly set forth by the accompanying verb, e. g. *crescit*, or *rarescit*, or else it is implicit in the context.

In Aeneid 7. 8, in the words *Aspirant in noctem* themselves, there is not the faintest suggestion of repetition. Nor can any one find the faintest suggestion of repetition in the context. Vergil is writing of a single, very definite occasion. No one would dream of associating the idea of repetition with Vergil's words here unless he knew from sources of information extraneous to Vergil what Miss Campbell knows about the recurrence of nightly breezes on sea-coasts, Mediterranean and others. There is no hint of repetition in Aeneid 10.746 and 12.310; a man dies only once. Likewise in 3.568 there is not a word to show that the dropping of the wind was a recurrent nightly phenomenon.

The critic and interpreter must often draw a sharp distinction between what a passage in fact says and its suggestions, often many and wide-reaching. For example, the Latin words *otium* and *ludium* inevitably setting me thinking of a lot of things most of which could not have been in the mind of the ancient author who happens to be using either word.

however, when it rose again, was changed, that is, it blew offshore instead of from the sea, as in the day, according to the well-known law of land and sea breezes. With the offshore breeze Aeneas put out to sea (7.7).

My impression that the land and sea breezes blow on the Mediterranean coast I cannot support by personal observation there, but my inference that they do blow was drawn at first from the general physiological law concerning the movement of warm and cool air over land and sea near the coast. As I did not know whether the peculiar, land-locked Mediterranean basin, with mountainous Italy running into it like a long tongue, might not have specific local modifications that would affect the breezes, I consulted Baedeker⁹. A statement that I found there encouraged me to proceed with the attempt to prove that my interpretation of *in noctem* is possible. In the Introduction (xxiv) we find these words: "The Roman winter owes its mildness to the sea, and the daily recurring breeze in summer is due to the same source". W. G. Kendrew¹⁰ writes as follows of the climate of the Mediterranean Basin:

The general conditions...are simplest in summer, when the air movement is controlled by the extension of the North Atlantic anticyclone over Western Europe, from which north-westerly winds blow towards the great low-pressure system covering south Asia and the Sahara. They set in in May and are almost constant in direction during the summer months except for prominent land and sea breezes on the coasts.

Therefore, Italy's land and sea breezes must be considered. Let us recall the law of the land and sea breezes, a law well defined by Professor Roderick Peattie¹¹:

Land and sea breezes play an important rôle in coastwise sailing and the expeditions of near-shore fishers. In the daytime the land becomes hot and so is an area of low atmospheric pressure as contrasted with the pressures over water. Hence as the day advances a breeze comes gently in from the sea. This may under intense conditions become a strong wind. The rapid radiation of heat from the land at night conversely permits a high-pressure area over the land in distinction to that over the sea. Early morning and evening are periods of calm. During the day there is continuously a breeze blowing toward the land, which carries sailboats briskly up and down the coast, and against which the fishers put out to sea. As the sun goes down, there is a lull during which the little fishing-boats lie upon quiet waters with their sails flapping idly. Within sight is the home cottage, from which the smoke rises through the quiet evening air. But the sailors know that there will be a land

breeze by which they may tack to the home port before the twilight of evening has waned.

A statement made by Professor A. E. Zimmern and brought to my attention by my colleague, Dr. Pearl C. Wilson, adds proof to the statements of Baedeker and Kendrew about the sea breeze on the Italian coast. Speaking of the winds of the Mediterranean area, Professor Zimmern says¹²,

...Coast-winds...are known and calculable. As the sea is warmer by night and cooler by day, there is a displacement of air after sunrise and sunset. In the evening the breeze is off the land: in the morning off the sea. That is why the wise Phaeacians sent Odysseus off in the evening after supper, although the Greeks as a rule did not like being on board at night, and why Telemachus and the suitors, who could rely on their sailors, both set sail after sunset.

When Vergil wrote the lines upon which we are centering our attention, he was living on the coast near Naples; he used the knowledge gained from personal observation of the rise and the fall of the coast breezes. It is more than probable that he had in mind the 'regular evening service from Puteoli to Ostia', which Friedländer mentions as existing in the early Empire¹³. These vessels perhaps took advantage of the land breeze which rose toward the night, *circa noctem*, to put out of the harbor.

With these statements in mind let us return to the comment made by Servius on *Aspirant aurae in noctem*. "Quia", he says, "ut diximus, temporum mutatione ventus vel minuitur vel augetur", 'Because, as we have said, at the change of periods the wind drops and <then> rises'. This translation I give in the light thrown upon the note by the cross-reference, *ut diximus*, which refers to Servius's comment on Aeneid 3.568, *interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit*. On this line Servius comments thus: *Ventus cum sole*. *Ventorum enim mutationem necesse est fieri vel oriente sole, vel occidente*¹⁴, 'for there must come a change of winds whether at sunrise or at sunset'—the law of the land and sea breezes.

In Aeneid 3.568, as we have just seen, Vergil remarks the fall of the breeze at sunset. In Eclogue 9.57-58 the poet gives us another instance of the fall of the breeze at sunset. The internal evidence of the scenery in this eclogue points to its having been written of shepherds wending their way toward a town by the sea. Vergil makes Lycidas say,

⁹The Greek Commonwealth: Politics and Economics in Fifth-Century Athens⁴, 39 (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1924).

¹⁰Ludwig Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners in the Early Empire*, 1.283 (translated by Leonard A. Magnus, London, George Routledge and Sons, New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. Undated!!!). Friedländer gives us reason to believe that, by the time of the Empire, sailors habitually followed the occasional practice of the early Greeks: "Voyages were made by preference on clear, starry nights. The steersmen steered by the stars, to whom the passengers made worship before starting." Philostratus says that there was a regular evening service from Puteoli to Ostia, lasting three days, stopping probably in the mornings at Caieta and Antium (a populous port in Cicero's day)... Compare Philostratus in Honour of Apollonius of Tyana 7.15 (in the translation by J. S. Phillimore, 2.168 [Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1912]): "...He would then have conducted them to the place where he lodged, but Apollonius declined, pleading 'that it was already afternoon, and they must put to sea at nightfall for the Port of Rome <Ostia>, this being the rule for these ships...'".

¹¹Sir Archibald Geikie, *The Love of Nature Among the Romans During the Later Decades of the Republic and the First Century of the Empire*, 300-301. <On this book see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.49-51, 57-58, 16.17-18, 17.57-59. C. K.>.

In spite of my dissent here, I think Miss Campbell's paper well worth printing. She has written about the night breezes far more clearly than any editor of Vergil has written about them.

I wish to make one more point. It was the combination of breeze and moon that led the Trojans to sail on this memorable night. Vergil makes that plain enough, by his words *nec candida cursus luna negat*. Verses 9-10 in fact equal *quod aspirant*, etc. The shining of the moon is far the more important part of the causes that made voyaging possible. The poet was keen to make the Trojans voyage on this night just because in that way and in that alone could he bring them to the promised land in the opening, and fairest, hours of the day. Miss Campbell does well to stress again this point. C. K.>.

¹²Karl Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome*¹⁴ (Leipzig, 1904).

¹³W. G. Kendrew, *The Climates of the Continents*¹, 234 (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1927).

¹⁴College Geography, 172 (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1926).

Et nunc omne tibi stratum silet aequor, et omnes,
aspice, ventosi ceciderunt murmuris auras.

That evening is near appears from verse 63: Aut si nox pluviam ne colligat ante veremur. . . . The fall of the breeze at sunrise is noted in Aeneid 7.27-28, when the Trojans are completing the voyage begun in 7.7.

One more quotation, from the scientist, Sir Archibald Geikie¹⁴, concludes my evidence about the sea breezes of Italy:

...in one respect the sea had great attractions for the Romans. While they were chary of venturing on its surface far from the shore, they were in the habit of flocking in large numbers every summer to the coast, where they could look out upon the wide Mediterranean and enjoy the freshness of the sea breezes.

On page 337 Sir Archibald Geikie translates Aeneid 7.6-8 by "...In the evening they sailed thence when the deep was still and the breeze was freshening as the night came on..." If there was anything unusual in the freshening of the breeze in this incident, a scientist of Sir Archibald Geikie's knowledge would be quick to note it, especially as he says (318), "He <Vergil>, of course, knew nothing of the scientific meaning of the facts which he noted, but no man of science could have observed them more accurately or described them with more concise precision..."

On the basis, then, of Vergil's phrase *in noctem* and of indications supplied by the extraneous evidence collected concerning land and sea breezes, I think that *in noctem*, Aeneid 7.8, means 'for the night', and that perhaps it has the additional idea of 'every night', 'nightly'. Would not Vergil have given some indication to his readers if he had intended the breeze mentioned in verse 8 to be regarded as unusual¹⁵? The use of the ordinary night breeze blowing off the land on a moonlight night in spring or opening summer does not detract from the importance of the momentous incident, but gives a sense of reality to the rejoicing mood in which Nature speeds Aeneas to his final destination, on the voyage which is to "bring him to the promised land at dawn and amidst the pomp of sunrise"¹⁷. The insertion of ordinary incidents to increase vividness is a device both ancient and modern. In the Rime of the Ancient Mariner Coleridge makes the natural recurrence of the tropical sun's swift setting enhance the fantastic terrors of the calamities which follow upon the shooting of the albatross:

The sun's rim dips, the stars rush out:
At one stride comes the dark.

Strabo (5.3.5) states that the prevalent wind in the curve of the land lying between Caieta and Circeii, places which, he says, are about 100 stadia apart, is from the southwest. After the Trojans had put out from the harbor, this southwest wind in conjunction with the land breeze might have helped to speed the vessels on to Circeii. Then, late at night (16), the Tro-

jans heard the angry roar of lions from Circe's palace, a sound to be heard the more plainly on the air of night because the breeze was blowing offshore.

The reference to Neptune filling the sails with favoring winds (24) to aid the Trojans in rounding Circeii may mean the stiffening of the breeze that blows from the land, a not unusual occurrence. The offshore breeze together with the moon's light would enable them to keep their vessels away from the dangerous currents which set around Circeii and to sail *praeter vada fervida* (24). About sunrise, the time for the land breeze to drop, the Trojans were near shore and then (27-28)

...venti posuere omnisque repente resedit
flatus, et in lento luctantur marmore tonsae.

At this moment, in the rosy light of dawn, Aeneas looks out from his ship and sees the mouth of the Tiber in a mighty forest.

Now let us consider the expression *candida...luna* (8-9). The moon does not shine with white brilliancy, *candida*, until the twilight has almost faded into night, and until the moon has risen high enough above earthly exhalations to be seen through a clear atmosphere. The epithet *candida*, therefore, helps to indicate the time when the Trojans put to sea; that moment was, evidently, some time after sunset, for it is not until the breeze from the land has had time to spring up that they sail. I have seen a gold-of-Ophir moon hanging in the summer twilight over the valley between Fiesole and Florence; at another time, as our ship sailed from the Piraeus, I watched the full golden moon rise over Sunium just as the sun was setting behind the hills of the Peloponnesus. Therefore I can testify that the moon shines over the Mediterranean land and sea with the same color as over New York, or over Vassar, or over the Valley of Virginia, when the daylight is still lingering in the West. Later, on those two memorable nights, the moon rode calm and silvery-white in the sky; to us, as to the Trojans on the night of their final voyage, she denied not progress.

It is interesting here to recall another night sail which the Trojans had made, and it is also worth noting that it took place on the night before they first caught sight of the coast of Italy (Aeneid 3.506-524). In that case, too, Vergil makes the Trojans get their first glimpse of Italy in the early morning, the loveliest and the freshest part of the day, the time typical of beginnings. At sunset they had put in on the coast of Greece under the Ceraunian heights, opposite the heel of Italy, *unde iter Italiam cursusque brevissimus undis* (3.507), and they had gone to sleep *gremio telluris* (509), after casting lots for oarsmen (510). But Palinurus, their pilot, rises before midnight (512), and watches for the breeze to spring up (514) that would blow them from Greece toward Italy. After it does rise, and he has assured himself that all is settled in the calm heavens, he summons his comrades. In this instance they are roused from sleep to sail by starlight. Evidently Palinurus feels

¹⁴But there is in *Adspirant* no hint whatever of 'the breeze freshening'. As Miss Campbell points out to me in a letter, the word may suggest the idea of 'favoring', 'helping'; compare e. g. Aeneid 2.385. C. K. >.

¹⁵The unusual thing was conjunction of breeze and moon. That Vergil notes. See above, note ¹⁴. C. K. >.

¹⁷So Conington, on Aeneid 7. 25.

constrained to leave with the first 'following breeze' a region usually abounding in storms.

The length of that last sail of Aeneas from Caieta to the mouth of the Tiber is, according to Strabo¹⁸, 750 stadia, or about 75 nautical miles. Friedländer says¹⁹, "...A ship with a good wind might do 700 stadia a day; a swift cruiser even 900..." St. Paul's voyage from Rhegium to Puteoli, a distance of 182 nautical miles, was made in "a day" (Acts of the Apostles 28. 11-13). Friedländer says²⁰, "...From Rhegium to Puteoli, St. Paul sailed with a favouring South wind in a day..." If the Trojans sailed at the rate of eight nautical miles, or a little more, an hour (the utmost limit of speed made by sailing-vessels might be, perhaps, ten miles an hour, so an experienced sailor has told me), it took them somewhere between 7-½ and 9-½ hours to make the passage from Caieta to the mouth of the Tiber, in time to be greeted by the pomp of sunrise.

By consulting the almanac²¹ for 1928, I find that, in the latitude of New York City, which is about that of Rome, if there were nine hours between late twilight and sunrise, the time of sailing must have been within the month of April, but that, if the sail took not more than 7-½ hours, the time of sailing was in May. The description in Aeneid 7.29-36 fits either month. Of these verses Sir Archibald Geikie says (269):

In the scene depicted by Virgil when Aeneas first catches sight of the Tiber, the poet displays his consummate art, and at the same time his proud appreciation of the river so dear to every Roman. He takes care to place the incident in early morning, and in spring or opening summer, when the landscape would be at its loveliest, and when the first impression of the scene would be such as might well delight the hearts of the Trojans as they entered on their promised land....

We have only to compare Georgics, 2.323-345, the passage in which Vergil praises spring as the time of the beginning of the world and as the period in which all things came into being, with Aeneid 7.25-36 to catch the general tenor of identity of the two passages, their joyous delight in springtime. Compare especially Georgics 2.328 and Aeneid 7.32-34²². Rome, which, by heaven's will was to rule the world, had its beginning in springtime. In Aeneid, Books 7-8, Vergil, by lingering over scenes of natural beauty, shows that he feels that his hero and, perhaps, his reader, need such a respite as the enjoyment of the loveliness of nature can impart before the beginning of the last series of toils and trials which are Aeneas's destined portion²³.

As I have connected the second clause of 7.8-9 with the first, so I must take it with the third, for the effect of the sea shining bright, *splendet...pontus*,

under the gleaming light, *tremulo sub lumine*, is caused by *candida luna*. For *tremulo* Page gives "shimmering". If *candida* means "pale", as Sir Archibald Geikie translates it (337), "shimmering" is a good rendering of *tremulo*, for 'shimmering' means soft, tremulous and lustrous²⁴. But *candida* means 'dazzling white', 'brilliant'. Professor Fairclough²⁵ gives its true meaning, "shining bright", and translates *splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus* by "the sea glitters beneath the dancing beams". But does not "glitter" give a sense of hardness that is incompatible with *tremulo* and *pontus*? Thus in these two short clauses Vergil gives with a conciseness that is the despair of translators a picture of moonlight on the sea as near to the *κυμαίων ἀνὰ λήμνητον γέλασμα* of Aeschylus²⁶ as moonlight can come to sunlight. The dancing moonlit sea recalls, too, a line of Catullus (31.13), who must have gazed with a poet's eye of delight in the moonlight as well as in the sunlight on the waves of the Lacus Benacus: *gaudete vosque, Lydiae lacus undae*²⁷.

Sir Archibald Geikie (313) calls attention to Vergil's "marvellous acuteness of observation, his sympathy with Nature in all her moods, and his gifts of concise and melodiously onomatopoeic expression...", which, he says, "are nowhere more conspicuous than in the similes connected with the sea in his two great poems..." In this passage we have no simile, but we surely have "acuteness of observation" and "melodiously onomatopoeic expression".

Alas! however, to spoil our pleasure in these two lovely lines come the critics to tell us that Vergil borrowed *candida* and *tremulo*. On verse 9 Conington comments thus: "'Candida' and 'tremulo' seem to be from Enn. Melan. fr. 4 Vahlen, 'Lumine sic tremulo terra et cava caerulea candent', as Macrobius. Sat. 6.4 remarks". Why? Why? With the moonlight trembling before him, with his acute powers of observation, and with his inborn poetic imagination, why should Vergil have taken these words from Ennius? Macrobius, be it noted, is defending Vergil's line from the attack of ancient critics: Tremulum lumen de imagine rei ipsius expressum est. Sed prior Ennius in Melanippe *lumine sic tremulo terra et cava caerulea candent*. Both things are possible, as Professor Knapp and Macrobius suggest, (1) that Vergil used his own eyes, (2) that he remembered Ennius' words.

HUNTER COLLEGE

MARY E. CAMPBELL

AFRICANISM IN AMERICAN LIFE AND LETTERS

Readers of Sister Wilfrid's paper, Is There an Africitan?, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22.73-78, will find a particular interest in the following passage, which is taken from Mrs. Katharine Fullerton Gerould's article This Hard-Boiled Era, in Harpers Magazine for February (273):

¹⁸See Webster's International Dictionary, and Sir James Murray, New English Dictionary Edited on Historical Principles.

¹⁹H. R. Fairclough, in Loeb Classical Library.

²⁰Prometheus Bound 89-90.

²¹On this much discussed passage see my remarks in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 12.113-114. C. K. >

¹⁸J. 5-6 (see the translation by H. L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library 2.389-399).

¹⁹286 (see note 13, above).

²⁰283. ²¹The World 1928 Almanac and Book of Facts, 53-54 (issued by the New York World, 1928).

²²See Sir Archibald Geikie's remarks on this passage, and his translation of it, on pages 247-248 of the work named in note 14, above.

²³W. Warde Fowler, Aeneas at the Site of Rome, 1 (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1918): "...Together with the seventh book, <the eighth book> serves as quiet preparation for the war and bloodshed that is <sic> coming..."

After the Silver Age in Roman letters, the chief characteristics of which, I understand, were cleverness and rhetorical insincerity, came, with Hadrian's advent, the "African Latinity." Rome, at that time, was very hard-boiled. This was "the period of affected archaisms and pedantic learning, combined at times with reckless love of innovation and experiment, resulting in the creation of a large number of new formations and in the adoption of much of the plebeian dialect." I offer nothing of my own knowledge: I merely quote classical authorities. Anyone will admit, I think, that every one of these recorded traits of the African Latinity is strikingly matched in our own contemporary verse and prose. I spoke earlier of certain "tenuities and caducities" in our literature that seemed to be declining towards an age of pure sham. Leaving the poetry to one side, any reader of contemporary prose (and our prose is better than our verse) will find, if he stops to examine what he reads, the affected archaisms and the pedantry, the reckless love of innovation and experiment, the new formations, the plebeian dialect, in our most popular pages. Each cited trait leaps to affix itself to some one of our most praised authors. Our hard-boiledness has turned us away from classic moderation and classic profundity. After all, the classic tradition is to deal with life truthfully, and we are not, at present, very keen about truth. We want, like all hard-boiled people, an escape from life, and are impatient of what have been tiresomely but accurately called "the eternal verities."

At the beginning of her article Mrs. Gerould draws a close parallel—a little too close, perhaps—between our present cultural status and that of "the Roman Empire of the first centuries after Christ" (265-266):

The substance is surprisingly familiar. Rampant materialism; the ease and frequency of travel to all parts of the known earth; the passion for speed; the juxtaposition of great wealth and great poverty; the breaking down of old social barriers and rise of a rich parvenu class; the immense importance of money; curiosity; tolerance; fear of the mob; disillusionment; syncretism; the strong influence of rhetors and sophists and demagogues; emancipation of women; Greece playing the part among the upper classes, that Euripe has played with us in matters of culture and taste; a tremendous influx of foreigners, so that not only Rome but other Italian cities (especially ports) must have been melting-pots like New York—among these facts and conditions the twentieth-century American finds himself astonishingly and woefully at home. The Roman republic had vanished as completely as the American republic has vanished. There were the same powerless aristocratic laments; the farmers complained and the profiteers flourished; the rich bought for themselves a sensation which the poor clamored to have popularized—and disillusioned men and women of fashion sought spiritual comfort from Oriental peddlers, being weary of the faith of their fathers....

The author then attempts to answer the question: Why has the Time-Spirit chosen the twentieth century to duplicate the second and the third? She finds an answer in the law of opposites, in the tendency of an age of material comfort and prosperity to revert in its spiritual and intellectual life to a more primitive state (266-267):

The fact is, one supposes, that luxury like Rome's and ours always brings people back to the eternal crudities. The simple homespun creature wants chiefly a greater delicacy of life, softnesses that are outside his

experience. When you go in purple, your curiosities all satisfied, your comforts all guaranteed, the ends of the earth ministering to your pleasure, where are you going to get a "kick" except from the primitive? People who are obliged to live at the mercy of nature get no thrill out of sleeping under the stars. It is only the pampered person whose imagination is stirred by discomfort, peril, and pain. The man who encounters them daily longs only for a refuge.

The whole article will bear thoughtful reading.

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JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.

THE RÔLE OF THE CHILD IN SUPPLICATIONS

Common gestures of entreaty and supplication in antiquity were stretching forth the hands and clasping knees, but there was a far more effective mode of appeal. During the flight of Themistocles from Sparta he was compelled to seek lodging at the home of the unfriendly king of the Molossians, Admetus, who, however, happened to be away at the time. Upon the suggestion of the wife of Admetus, Themistocles took their child and seated himself at the hearth, where Admetus found him on his return. In this position, 'the most potent form of entreaty', Themistocles succeeded in winning his appeal for mercy¹.

When Nysa was unable to withstand the resourcefulness of Alexander's siege operations, a deputation, accompanied by the queen and other ladies, came before the conqueror to implore pardon. She placed her little son at the knees of the king, and gained not only pardon, but the right to keep her position as queen².

In an emergency at the siege of Gergovia the Gallic women, with hair disheveled, held forth their children as an entreaty to the Gauls to defend to their utmost all that was dear³.

The part played by the children seems to be intended merely to symbolize all that is precious, but the position on the knees seems to have some significance. In the story of Themistocles the knees are not specifically mentioned, but it is obvious that the suppliant placed the child upon them.

There are few prominent parts of the body which do not have some superstitions connected with them. The knees are no exception⁴. A passage in Pliny the Elder (11.250) would account for the efficacy which the ancients attach to the act of bringing a child in contact with the knees:

'In the practice of mankind there is a sort of religious feeling attaching to the knees. These the suppliants touch, to these they stretch their hands, these they adore as altars, perhaps because they are the seat of vitality. For at each knee-joint, both right and left, there is a kind of opening like that of a mouth. From this, if pierced, the vital spirit escapes as from a throat'.

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¹Thucydides 1.136.2-137.1.

²Curtius 8.10.33-35. Curtius does say (8.10.36) that some believed that Alexander was moved more by the queen's beauty than by any feeling of compassion. Great confidence, however, was placed in the act itself.

³Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 7.48.3.

⁴I give but one example, *Festus* 190 (Lindsay's edition): Si hominem fulminibus occisit, ne supra genua tollito.

⁵It may be recalled that, in the course of his touring of northern Africa, the American Mr. Tinker of Mr. Booth Tarkington's book, *The Plutocrat*, was regarded as a "new Roman".

CARMEN CHRISTI NATI MEMORIAE SACRVM¹

Hac nocte nobis nascitur,
 Caelo sereno, candida
 Inter minora lumina
 Lux alba qua salvabimur.
 Videte, pastores, uti
 Iam stella clare fulgeat,
 Vestros gradus ad se trahat!
 Videte, reges splendidi!
 Beata gens mortalium,
 Laudate caelestem Deum!

Hac nocte Christus nascitur,
 Cubile cuius visitant
 Iam rustici; reges sacrant,
 Aurum ferentes atque ebur.
 Nosmetque praediti fide
 Eum, qui servat perditos
 Viaeque rectae nescios,
 Pio sequemur pectore.
 Beata gens mortalium,
 Laudate caelestem Deum!

Hac nocte regnum nascitur
 Caeleste. Tandem semitam
 Salvationis caelicam,
 O debiles, nanciscimur:
 Nam gloriosi filius
 Dei benignus advenit
 Ac iam redempturus regit
 Terras et humanum genus!
 Beata gens mortalium,
 Laudate caelestem Deum!

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This night a wondrous light is born
 And set upon its azure way,
 To shine among the lesser lights
 And herald peace on earth for aye.
 Behold, ye shepherds, how the star
 Above the eastern hills now flings
 Its ray and beckons on your steps!
 Behold it, too, ye splendid kings!
 Thrice happy O humanity,
 Sing praises unto God on high!

This night the Savior Child is born.
 Already swains are bending nigh
 Their steps, and kings are bringing gifts
 Of gold and precious ivory.
 And we, long poor and void of hope,
 Long wandering from the way apart,
 Now guided by a living faith,
 Will follow Him with loyal heart.
 Thrice happy O humanity,
 Sing praises unto God on high!

This night a kingdom fair is born.
 At last, O frail humanity,
 We tread the path whereby the soul
 May mount to heaven's serenity.
 For lo, the holy Son of God
 Hath come, by heaven's benignant plan,
 To rule the kingdoms of the earth
 And save the wayworn son of man!
 Thrice happy O humanity,
 Sing praises unto God on high!

LEON J. RICHARDSON

¹Both Latin and English were written by Professor Richardson. For other Latin verses written by her see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 2.173-174, 5.125. C. K. >

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